GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

FAR EAST COMMAND

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART XVIII

HIRANUMA TAKES OVER

(21 Dec 1938 - 2 Mar 1939)

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THE SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS

PART EIGHTEEN: HIRANUMA TAKES OVER

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
309	HIRANUMA APPROACHED	2397
310	HIRANUMA IS PREMIER	2405
311	SARDINES AND BONITO	2413
311 Appendix	PRINCE SAIONJI'S BATTLE HELMET	2420
312	NAVY VIEWS ON AXIS ALLIANCE	2421
313	ARITA REPORTS TO THRONE	2432
314	POLITICAL TRIANGLES IN CHINA	2442
315	IMPERIAL APPREHENSIONS	2451
316	ATTACK RUSSIA?	2459

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 309
(21 December 1938)

Hiranuma Appointed

Translated by Sgt. Sadaki Teshima

On the evening of the 22nd, I (HARADA) went to Oiso for a rest. On the morning of the 23rd, when I (HARADA) met TERAUCHI at Oiso, he was very angry and was grumbling about ISHIHARA.

From noon I (HARADA) looked at KOISO who was at a place beyond Hayama on the Miura Peninsula and when I complimented him on his prudence, Gen. KOISO was extremely happy and said: "I've never done anything rashly and I'm very concerned over the present condition of the Army. If there is no control within the Army, the foreign policy and interval administration cannot be carried out. The officials who take up government positions will find it very difficult. Because of this the foreign policy of Japan will be very weak. Because I (KOISO) know of these matters, I want to do something about them." I (HARADA) asked: "Isn't there a more practical method?" He (KOISO) replied: "If I should do it first, others would think I'm being partial. Since I do not want such a thing to happen, if someone like Gen. KAWAI would come to the fore and state what should be done about the Army's condition and bring the reserve and retired generals together, I (KOISO) will then lead them and encourage the others. Then, if the government should select a capable War Minister, I would give support to him. Even if I (KOISO) should get killed because of this, I think it is possible to restore control within the Army. In doing this, it would be very favorable if someone like

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the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal would request KAWAI."

Since it was a delicate problem I (HARADA) did not say what I had in mind concerning the possible realization of such a matter. I (HARADA) don't think KUHARA is putting anything over on KOISO. This doesn't seem likely. KOISO was saying to himself that he doesn't even consider KUHARA.

I (HARADA) returned to Oiso again and rested for one or two days. When I called KIDO on the morning of the 24th, he (KIDO) said: "HIRANUMA and KONOYE met last night. KONOYE called me and said: 'HIRANUMA will undoubtedly accept the position. Please meet him.' So I (KIDO) intend to meet HIRANUMA on the night of the 25th."

On the morning of the 26th, I (HARADA) went to KIDO's residence and he stated: "As KONOYE has great ambitions, he said that it was likely that HIRANUMA will accept. Upon meeting HIRANUMA, however, it was very complicated and it seems that HIRANUMA would not accept the position so readily."

On the 26th, after the opening of the session, I (HARADA) met Foreign Minister ARITA at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and he said: "The problem of the anti-Comintern fact that was settled at the Five Ministers' Conference must be made clear. Yet, this is truly a distressing problem. Even if there is a political change, it would be a great help if men like Finance Minister IKEDA remain at their post, but I do not think they will."

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I (HARADA) was invited over to the vill. of Finance Minister IKEDA at noon of the same day. IKEDA was also very concerned about HIRANUMA, and was especially worried on the matters concerning the foreign policy. Furthermore, IKEDA said: "When I met HIRANUMA previously, I explained to HIRANUMA: 'From the standpoint of finance and economy, there are no nations other than England and the United States who will be of aid to Japan in the future. To consider them as our enemies is a great mistake.' It seems that HIRANUMA became somewhat cognizant of the situation. However, I cannot set my mind at east unless the situation is cleared up further."

IKEDA continued: "In my conversation with HIRANUMA, he said: 'Since I'm quite a novice in this matter, I would like to have your support as far as finance and economy are concerned.' If KONOYE ventures to remain at his post, he can do somethin about it by reorganizing the Cabinet. However, since he (KONOYE) is downhearted, there is no helping his resignation."

I (HARADA) went to see the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at 1:30 p.m. and conversed with him on various matters. First of all, I spoke of what took place between KIDO and HIRANUMA as well as between IKEDA and HIRANUMA. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was confused over this matter. I (HARADA) left Tokyo station that day at 7 p.m. and went to Shizuoka.

On the 27th, I (HARADA) called on the Prince (SAIONJI) and reported everything. However, the Prince said: "Whatever the case, it must be assumed that KONOYE

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planned to organize a strong Cabinet by some means, and although he wanted to lead them, the result was that he (KONOYE) was led away by the members of the Cabinet. Such being the situation, it is not known whether this may be the tendency of the times. According to Finance Minister IKEDA, there won't be a foreign policy if we do not cooperate with England and the United States. Needless to say, this fact is quite apparent and it is beyond me why the Army cannot perceive this."

On the 28th, when I called KIDO on the phone, it seemed as if the matter concerning HIRANUMA was the same and was not proceeding any smoother. KONOYE and HIRANUMA had met on the 27th and KIDO and HIRANUMA had met later. HIRANUMA and the Lord Privy Seal had met several times in the interim and they met again on the 29th. HIRANUMA had repeatedly told the Lord Privy Seal: "KONOYE must not resign. If it becomes difficult for KONOYE to carry out his duties, the others should give him support so that KONOYE could carry his duties out more efficiently."

As has been criticized, HIRANUMA had put up a very strong argument when he met the Lord Privy Seal initially. This was in the vein of SHIRATORI's statements, and this was the point over which the Lord Privy Seal was most concerned. When the Lord Privy Seal explained the problems of the Five Ministers' Conference and the errors of the anti-Comintern Pact to HIRANUMA, it was said that HIRANUMA began to realize the true significance of these matters. The reason for these frequent meetings between the Lord Privy Seal and HIRANUMA, was from the desire of the Lord

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Privy Seal to ascertain the points over which there was concern and to ask HI ANUMA's reflection on these points. This would result in fewer errors in the event that something did occur and HI ANUMA assumed the reigns of government.

On the evening of the 29th, I (HARADA) phoned KIDO and he said: "From 6:00 p.m. this evening, War Minister ITAGAKI went over to KONOYE's residence and talked until 8:00 p.m. War Minister ITAGAKI did not want KONOYE to resign. The plot involvin, WA Ching-Wei was about to succeed and the point WA was relying on was the good relations between KONOYE and the Army. If the premier is changed, the other party will be put in an unfavorable position. As a result, he (ITAGAKI) expressed himself strongly saying that he rigidly opposed the resignation of KONOYE. Even at 8 o'clock, Finance Minister IKEDA and I (KIDO) were summoned and the four of us are conversing. The situation is that KONOYE insists upon resigning. IKEDA and I (KIDO) told ITAGAKI that it is a very difficult situation at present, but ITAGAKI said: 'I do not want KONOYE to resign.' ITAGAKI went home after that. If the Army maintains a strong attitude, KONOYE might remain at his post, but under the present conditions, it doesn't seem very likely. Just recently, it has been said that HIRANUMA will accept (premiership)."

I (HARADA) received a telephone call from a newspaper office in Tokyo after I finished the telephone conversation with KIDO. It was to the effect of: "MACHIJIRI, the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, and 2 other officers were suspended." The reason for this was

that they were responsible for the loss of the Mobilization Orders documents.

On the morning of the 30th, when I (HARADA) phoned Navy Vice Minister YAMAMOTO, he said: "It seems very difficult. egardless of who is appointed the Navy Minister, the Navy's attitude will remain unchanged."

When I questioned Finance Minister IKEDA on this matter, he said: "I met HIRANUMA and he said: 'It is not favorable for Japan to consider England and the United States as enemies. However, it would not do to just coordinate our foreign policy with England and the United States; we must proceed with a stronger policy.' I replied: 'That is very silly. Our foreign policy must be carried out with our nation's capabilities in mind. Unless we do that, just what is to happen to the nation in the event that some great mishap occurs while we are proceeding with a firm policy?' HIRANUMA had nothing to say. He must consider that point more carefully. I intend to meet HIRANUMA once more and ascertain that fact. I believe that the War Minister will probably go over to the Premier and tell him that he must not resign; however, it is not for the Premier to remain in office just because someone says so. It is a very odd story."

MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Privy Seal came over on the night of the 30th and said: "The Lord Privy Seal said: 'It doesnot seem as if KOISO will remain in office. If the threats of the army succeed, it is a different story. However, if they do not, he will probably resign. The first problem to arise, in such an

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event, will be that of a succeeding cabinet. At the present, there is no one other than HIRANUMA.'

"The Lord Privy Seal is well aware of the feelings of the Prince (SAIONJI) toward HIRANUMA when HIRANUMA was preciously mentioned for the premiership. He is also of the opinion that it would be a very inexcusable matter to agree with the plan of having HIRANUMA assume the reigns of government. The Lord Privy Seal also does not think that it is a very good thing. However, under the present conditions, there is no one other than HIRANUMA. The greatest point of anxiety concerning HIRANUMA is, of course, the matter of foreign policy. Therefore, I am thinking that some method of checking him on this point is necessary. Another point of anxiety on the part of the Prince (SAIONJI) was the indiscriminate change of court attendants. The Imperial Household Minister and the Lord Privy Seal intend serve the Emperor to the best of their respective abilities, and not permit such things to occur. I would like to have you convey that fact to the Prince somehow.

"The Lord Privy Seal and IKEDA have thoroughly explained the matter of foreign policy to HIRANUMA and it seems as if he has changed his attitude considerably. It is contemplated that a conference with the Emperor be held so that His Majesty will also say a few words of caution on that point also. KONOYE and KIDO are of the opinion that this political change will occur on or about the 10th. However, no definite statements can be made until such an event occurs. Regardless, it is desired that the Prince be informed of them, since the circumstances are such."

The general atmosphere of the public seems to be that although it is not desirable, there is no alternative but to have HIRANUMA accept the post. In the event that HIRANUMA becomes the Premier, YUKI will be appointed the Finance Minister; IKEDA will be appointed the Governor of the Bank of Japan; and the War, Navy and Foreign Ministers will be left in their respective positions. It is HIRANUMA's desire that KONOYE be appointed the President of the Privy Council in the event that he is appointed the Premier.

I went to see the Prince on the morning of the 31st and made a report to him. The Prince said: "Since KONOYE has become Premier, I have not been able to make out the basis of his policies." Regarding the matter which has been mentioned previously, the Prince said: "That is not something which I have just found out... It is inevitable due to the trend of the times. It is a very regrettable thing to His Majesty. Since the Emperor is such an understanding person, one cannot help but sympathize with him. I also feel very sorry for the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Since the trend of the times are such, I also feel sorry for KONOYE. It is inevitable because of that fact." The Prince merely accepted this report and I acquainted MATSUDAIRA with that fact. I also informed the Lord Privy Seal that I had made the report to the Prince.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 310
(5 January 1939)

Hiranuma is Premier

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

On the morning of the 31st, I received a phone call from KONOYE to the effect of: "As there are so many complications and the situation is quite harassing, we might resign en bloc about the 4th. Only the group that surrounds the present Army General Staff Headquarters is making quite a fuss. At any rate, I am of the opinion that the 4th would be fine. HI'ANUMA requested: 'I would like to get OGUMA Masatsune as Finance Minister for the next Cabinet. Therefore, please write a letter for me to that effect.' I (KONOYE) wrote the letter and sent it off yesterday. Just now, I received an answer by wire from OGUMA rejecting the offer. YUKI might probably be made Finance Minister and IKEDA remain as the Governor of the Bank of Japan, filling the vacancy to be left by YUKI."

When I again spoke to KONOYE in the evening, he was saying that IKEDA talked to YUKI at length, but YUKI would not accept the appointment as Finance Minister. This was due to the fact that he was of the opinion that it would not be desirable to resign from the position of the Governor of the Bank of Japan which is the central banking institution and cause a constant change in the governorship of the bank. From the general standpoint of finance and banking, the position of Governor of the Bank of Japan is vital, and YUKI did not readily consent to move from his position.

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As a result, Baron HIRANUMA has appealed to IKEDA and is looking very intently for a successor who has faithfully followed his policy and could, through the Bank of Japan, maintain close connection with the general financial world. On the other hand, he must be a person who, as a member of the Five Ministers' Conference, can understand that the framework of the Japanese diplomatic policies should be based on Japan's relationship with Great Britain and the United States. Therefore, although he is still young and does not possess much worldly experience, it might be most appropriate to have Vice Minister ISHIWATA promoted to Minister. Then, IKEDA will be able to have his way when it comes to financial problems. It seems that Finance Minister IKEDA was already convinced that should YUKI refuse to accept the appointment, the above was the only solution. He (IKEDA) again called YUKI back from his trip on the evening of January 2nd, and persuaded him, but YUKI refused again. Therefore, it was decided that ISHIWATA will be recommended.

HIRANUMA returned from Kanazawa and met with IKEDA and KONOYE. When he met with KONOYE, HIRANUMA said: "If I should accept (the premiership), I would like to have you become the President of the Privy Council." On the other hand, the inner circles of the army are very much opposed to this rumor of a political change. They are basing their objections on the fact that it is an insult to the WANG Ching-Wei faction to have a political change in the Japanese Government after WANG Ching-Wei had issued a proclamation to the effect that he will act in unison with Japan. As a result Col. KAGESA

RESTRICTED

and INUKAI Ken who had gone to China returned (without completing their mission). It was eagerly hoped that the government would not change, but in the end, circumstances did not permit matters to turn out according to the wishes of the Army.

Around December 30th, the Chief of the General Staff, Prince KAN-IN, and War Minister ITAGAKI were received in audience by His Majesty. Both reported to the Throne saying: "The present Cabinet disturbance is unfavorable from the standpoint of our relations with China. We would like very much to have Your Majesty dissuade the KONOYE Cabinet from resigning." His Majesty remarked: "I am afraid that will be very difficult." With these words, both (Prince KAN-IN and ITAGAKI withdrew from the presence of His Majesty.

The younger circles (of the Army) are raising their voices saying that they will start a movement to prevent KONOYE from resigning by having the Chief of Staff make a direct appeal to the Throne.

According to a phone call from the Premier, he received a summons from Prince CHICHIBU on the morning of the 2nd. The Prince (CHICHIBU) stated: "You must not quit now. It is not wise to have a (political) disturbance now." The Premier explained the situation in detail saying: "From the standpoint of internal affairs, it is necessary for me to resign. Otherwise, the government will not function." To this, Prince CHICHIBU was compelled to say: "Then, why can't you (Premier) remain as a member of the Cabinet?" But to this recommendation, the Premier replied:

RESTRICTED

"I shall think it over carefully and then make my reply."
With this, I (Premier) withdrew from His Highness' presence.
In such a way, the Army, through His Highness, the Chief
of the General Staff and His Highness, Prince CHICHIBU,
attempted to dissuade KONOYE from resigning, but his
determination that there was no other course to take,
could not be shaken.

As soon as the ceremonies (commemorating the commencement of the New Year's administration) held at the Palace ended on the morning of the 4th, a Cabinet meeting was held and a petition for a resignation en bloc was submitted to the Throne.

On the morning of the 4th, there was a phone call from Prince KAN-IN to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. It was His Highness' wish to meet with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in the afternoon but he was informed that the Lord Privy Seal was scheduled to go out in the afternoon on business for His Majesty. The Chief of the General Staff came to the Palace at 11 o'clock and called on the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. His Highness received the details which made the political change inevitable.

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had already told the Deputy Chief of the General Staff when he came on the 2nd: "Explain the situation in detail to the Chief of the General Staff." However, His Highness did not seem to know anything of that. Therefore, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal gave him the details of the entire situation after which he (Chief of the General Staff) understood matters thoroughly and said: "Well then, it seems as though there is no hope."

With the foregoing words, he (Prince KAN-IN) took his leave.

Since Prince KONOYE had begged His Majesty to be relieved from his post, the Lord Privy Seal was summoned by His Majesty and upon reporting, the Emperor stated: "Due to the existing situation, please deliberate on the problem of a succeeding Cabinet. Report the entire proceedings of the political change to Prince SAIONJI. Also present your personal opinions and then listen to his (SAIONJI's) views on the matter and return." Due to the foregoing wish of His Majesty, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, upon withdrawing from the presence of His Majesty, immediately left Tokyo for Okitsu on the 1:00 p.m. train and talked with the Prince from 4:15 p.m. until 5:45 p.m. During the course of the conversation, he (The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) expressed His Majesty's will. He also explained the existing situation and inquired as to the Prince's opinions on the matter. He left Shizuoka on the 6:16 p.m. train and returned to Tokyo. Immediately upon his return, the (Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) proceeded to the Palace and reported to the Throne. At the same time, fulfilling the responsibilities of Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, he submitted Baron HIRANUMA Kiichiro's name as the head of the succeeding Cabinet. His Majesty, the Emperor, immediately expressed his approval and at 9:45 p.m., summoned HIRANUMA, the President of the Privy Council, and issued the Imperial Command to organize a new Cabinet.

As soon as Baron HIRANUMA received his summons, he said: "I want to meet the Premier." Therefore, KONOYE waited for

him at his official residence at Nagata-cho. At the same time, ARITA and ISHIWATA were summoned to the official residence of the Minister of Justice which was the headquarters for the formation of the Cabinet. HIRANUMA, after withdrawing from the presence of His Majesty soon after receiving the Imperial Command, discussed various problems with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at 10:40p.m., met with KONOYE at his official residence at Nagata-cho and requested him to become President of the Privy Council. At the same time, it was suggested that he attend the Cabinet Councils.

Previous to this, when HIRANUMA met with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, he (HIRANUMA) requested him to check with the Prince (SAIONJI) in regard to the President of the Privy Council's attending the Cabinet meetings. Therefore, early on the morning of the 5th, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal called me (KAWADA) and stated: "This is a request from the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Please find out the Prince's opinions regarding the matter of the President of the Privy Council attending Cabinet meetings. Nevertheless, it might be that the situation had developed last night in such a way that KONOYE was requested to assume the post as President of the Privy Council, and at the same time, the matter might have already been broached to KONOYE. At any rate, please dine out the Prince's views regarding the matter at your earliest convenience."

KONOYE had called me previously and said: "Of course, I refused to become a member of the Cabinet, but agreed to

accept the position of President of the Privy Council and attend Cabinet meetings." Baron HIRANUMA told KONOYE: "I intend to have KIDO become the Minister of Home Affairs. What do you think about it?" KONOYE replied: "I likewise think that KIDO is best suited as Minister of Home Affairs." The foregoing was also conveyed to me (by KONOYE) during the telephone conversation.

In the afternoon, ARITA accepted his post in the Cabinet with the understanding that Japan would not strengthen the Axis' anti-Comintern Pact. Baron HIRANUMA commented to ARITA: "I am also of the same opinion as you. I am opposed to the strengthening of the Axis' anti-Comintern Pact to the extent of waging war against England and France. Should the Army coerce us (into carrying out the foregoing), I shall resign together with you." Since Baron HIRANUMA went as far as to make such a remark, ARITA accepted his Cabinet post.

Due to a telephone conversation on the morning of the 5th from MATSUDAIRA to the effect that Baron HIRANUMA requested the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to ask the Prince (SAIONJI) his opinions on the matter, I (HARADA) went over and discussed this problem with the Prince. He commented: "In the first place, the times are different today. Moreover, even during past days, it was not considered favorable for the President of the Privy Council to attend the Cabinet meetings. Therefore, I am of the opinion that it is absolutely detrimental to have the President of the Privy Council attend Cabinet meetings as part of his duties or to assist in political problems. (In other words,) I am opposed

RESTRICTED

to it. It is not necessary to give them the details, but just say that when you (HARADA) inquired of SAIONJI, he said: 'Distinctly tell the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal that I am especially opposed to the idea of the President of the Privy Council attending Cabinet meetings.'"

Upon my return, I (HARADA) immediately called the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal via phone, and asked him to relay the foregoing to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

Before this reply reached him (Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal), discussions on this matter had taken place when he met with KONOYE and HIRANUMA late the night before. The War Minister persuaded KIDO concerning KONOYE's taking a post in the Cabinet. Therefore, KIDO mentioned the fact that even if he (KONOYE) does not accept a post in the Cabinet, there was this special method (in which KONOYE could attend Cabinet meetings.) The Army was heartily in favor of this, and as the public, in general, is also of the same opinion, matters are inevitably advancing towards that end. The foregoing is according to a recent phone call from KONOYE. I (HARADA) made a report by telephone to SAIONJI of this matter.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 311
(17 January 1939)

Sardines and Bonito

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

In connection with his acceptance of the cabinet position, there was an incident wherein the Minister of War's stipulations were published in the newspapers. These stipulations which were conveyed to those close to the Premier by the Vice Minister of War and KAGESA, during the time the Premier was engaged in organizing his cabinet, were in general, more what the officers of the rank of section chiefs anticipated of the Army, rather than that of the Minister of War himself. Nevertheless, they were exaggerated to a great extent and were widely circulated as unconditional terms of ITAGAKI's remaining in office. On the other hand, there were reports to the effect that KONOYE took over the positions of President of the Privy Council and at the same time became Minister without portfolio and will attend the cabinet meetings.

When the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal came over not long ago, he said, on his way home in the automobile: "Matters have already advanced very far, but when I first met HIRANUMA at the Palace, he asked me: 'What do you suppose the opinion of the Prince (SAIONJI) will be, in connection with recommending KONOYE as President of the Privy Council and having him attend the cabinet meetings?'" The Lord Privy Seal requested me (HARADA) to inquire of the Prince (SAIONJI) as to his opinion.

When I asked the Prince about this matter, he said: "Considering matters from various past circumstances, there

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have been many unpleasant results. Inasmuch as the world has progressed greatly, I think it is best (for KONOYE) to be only President of the Privy Council. There is no necessity for you to tell HIRANUMA exactly what I tell you, but to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, you may say that you asked SAIONJI and that he was just opposed to the idea."

I immediately notified the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal of the above. At that time, it was after it had already been decided that KONOYE would become a member of the cabinet as Minister without porfolio and President of the Privy Council. As a result, the prince was very much disappointed, but regardless, he wanted his views distinctly conveyed. With this, the problem was settled.

Before returning to Tokyo on the morning of the 6th, I went to pay a courtesy call on the prince and he remarked: "Well, no matter what, it was splendid that everything proceeded so smoothly." There is something very elastic about HIRANUMA, but after he assumes the position of responsibility, he will not be able to do anything drastic nor will he attempt it. The prince, as though he were thinking of something similar to the foregoing paragraph, remarked: "He is elastic, you see. Please extend my regards to KIDO and KONOYE."

I returned to Tokyo in the evening, and on the morning of the 7th, I went over to the official residence of the Premier and before the Cabinet meeting convened, extended my New Year's greetings to the Premier and the other

cabinet members. I also presented my felicitations upon the formation of a new cabinet. I also met the Chief Cabinet Secretary.

Premier HIRANUMA stated: "I am very busy and will not have time to go over and consult with the Prince (SAIONJI) often. Therefore, I would like very much to have you (HARADA) make reports for me occasionally. Moreover, I firmly believed that it would be best for KONOYE to continue in office without resigning. I have endeavored many times, to make him change his mind, but nothing could change KONOYE's decision. Please extend my regards to the prince."

Then, I met with the Chief Secretary and he said: "Please extend my very best to the Genro (SAIONJI)." Everybody seemed to be in a very happy mood.

On the evening of the 7th, I went to Oiso and spent the 8th and 9th in Tokyo. KONOYE who had gone to Kawana in Izu, invited me to come over. Therefore, on the 9th, MATSUDAIRA and I went to Kawana. We spent the night there and on the following day I returned to Tokyo.

I met with both ARITA and KIDO and questioned them regarding the situation. The personnel of KIDO's Ministry of Home Affairs seemed to have been restored and the situation appeared favorable, but ARITA looked as though he is having trouble in connection with the issue of strengthening the Axis' anti-Comintern Pact.

The former Finance Minister IKEDA is especially worried over this problem and is advocating that Japan, at all events, refrain from causing any unnecessary incite-

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ment towards Great Britain - France as well as Great Britain, and the United States. However, the younger circles of the Army, especially those connected with the General Staff Headquarters, are strongly asserting that with Great Britain and France as its object, Japan should strive towards the strengthening of the anti-Comintern Pact. As a result, ARITA is very down-hearted and has met with the chief of that section, as well as with two or three employees of the General Staff Headquarters, about two or three times in the evening for a leisurely discussion to clarify points which were vague to them. ARITA also expressed his strong convictions in detail, but at the same time, said: "It is a very difficult task."

On the other hand, it seems that quite a result was obtained in the matter pertaining to the plot of WANG Ching-wei. The younger groups, particularly, that are now following WANG Ching-wei, are for the most part, immediate adherents of CHIANG Kai-shek. At Jehol, a few days ago, MATSUMOTO of Domei (News Agency) also mentioned the amazing fact of the young adherents of CHIANG Kai-shek becoming WANG Ching-wei's followers.

At any rate, as I was very concerned over the situation, I had Captain TAKAGI of the Navy, as well as the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, come over to my residence and I made various inquiries. It was mentioned that the Navy seems to be in complete accord on the matter of strengthening the anti-Comintern Pact, but this is merely in outward appearance. In reality, the Navy is proposing this because they want to check, to some

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extent, the arbitrary action of the Army by agreeing with them. At all events, I (HARADA) commented: "As IKEDA is very much concerned over this problem, it might be a wise idea for you (TAKAGI) to express the opinions of the Navy and at the same time, listen to the important views that are bothering IKEDA.

Therefore, on the afternoon of the 16th, Captain TAKAGI called on former Finance Minister IKEDA and had an informal talk with him which lasted for an hour and a half. On his way home, Captain TAKAGI called me on the phone and said: "I had a long talk with former Finance Minister IKEDA. What he says is logical, systematic and reasonable. He is justified in worrying so. Therefore, if the details were clearly known to us at the time when he (IKEDA) spoke to the Navy Minister, he would have been able to take a more definite stand. It is to be regretted that this could not be done." In short, Captain TAKAGI regretted the fact that the explanations of the Navy were inadequate.

Moreover, ARITA and the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal met in the afternoon of the same day and after listening to the details of the situation, the Chief Secretary left for Hayama the following morning to report to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

I (HARADA) was in bed with influenza for four or five days, but just before my illness, I met with the Navy Minister and the Navy Vice Minister and questioned them in detail regarding the situation. As I felt that it was not an agreeable situation for the Army to create an unstable atmosphere within the Navy by circulating rumors

RESTRICTED

such as: "My, the Chief of the Naval General Staff has tendered his resignation", or "Such being the case, the Navy is also disorganized", I called in Captain TAKAGI and made various inquiries but there were no indications as mentioned above. I requested (Captain TAKAGI) to call on former Finance Minister IKEDA and explain the above thoroughly to him.

Chief Secretary MATSUDAIRA said: "On the past Saturday, the Foreign Minister again met directly with Colonel KAGESA of the Army, and two or three other leaders, and held a discussion. In short, the Army group claims: 'For us, this problem is the result of a study of more than a year. Japan does not have any partner today. Without a partner on one hand, nothing can be accomplished. With such a partner on one hand, and by settling the special interests of Great Britain and the United States in China by actually basing matters on facts and contriving to grant them what is rightfully theirs, won't we be able to escape from a terrible situation? Besides, won't this be more practical?' The foregoing was one of the opinions expressed. This is my (Chief Secretary MATSUDAIRA) speculation, but at the conference held in the presence of His Majesty, HIRANUMA inquired: 'Is there any danger of economic boycott? If this should occur, are there any counter-measures for it?' The foregoing questions might have resulted from what had been in his (HIRANUMA's) mind. This was the situation pertaining to the economic world and the possibilities of any other schemes, also, the fact that Japan-Germany-Italy Alliance might be a means of opposing the economic boycott of England and the United States.

At present, there are three stands to be taken. Those are: the 5 - Ministers' Conference plan; the compromise plan of the Foreign Ministry's General Affairs officials; and lastly, the Alliance plan. Just which of the foregoing will be utilized, is the next problem. It has not been determined as yet, but I surmise that this will be a very serious problem. The Army commented: 'You would have been able to make a feast of dried sardines (a fish of inferior quality); however, you were given a treat of bonito (a fish of superior quality) sashimi.'"

RESTRICTED

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 311 (Appendix)
(25 January 1939)

Prince Saionji and the Battle Helmet

Translated by Lt. Larry Nishihara

Prince OYAMA brought a battle helmet, said to have been worn by Prince SAIONJI during the time of the punitive expedition to the eastern part of Japan, and it was his desire that this be shown to Prince SAIONJI and ascertained whether this assertion was true or not.

Therefore, I (HARADA) took this helmet to the Prince (SAIONJI) and when I spoke to him about this, the Prince said: "This appears to be the genuine article and the writing on the box indicates that it was used during the time of the punitive expedition to the eastern part of Japan. However, this helmet was used when I went to the Sanindo District on an expedition. Although it says that it is a battle helmet, it is an article of head-gear designed by NIRAYAMA, that is by EGAWA Tarozaemon. It is a helmet designed to be able to push rapidly through the hills and brush. I used this when I was appointed the Commander (Sotoku) and went to the Sanindo District.

"A wrestler from Kagoshima, by the name of MINE-NO-HANA, was a great favorite of SAIGO Takamori. Together with this MINE-NO-HANA, there was a very great old lady, by the name of MURAOKA, staying with the great-grandfather of KONOYE, who was the chief adviser (kampaku) to the Emperor at that time. This old lady was even wiser than the chief adviser to the Emperor. The chief adviser to the Emperor was my calligraphy instructor. This MINE-NO-HANA and MURAOKA were on very friendly terms. Therefore, while Takamori and the chief adviser to the Emperor were

discussing the plans for the destruction of the Shogunates Takamori had this MINE-NO-HANA carry secret dispatches and used this wrestler and MURAOKA as messengers. I brought along this MINE-NO-HANA when I was going to the Sanindo District, and I don't recall whether I gave this helmet to him or not, but that is probably the way that it fell into the hands of MINE-NO-HANA.

"From ancient times, it was the policy of the Emperors to go to Mt. Hiei to escape the attacks of the insurgents. However, it was considered most advisable at the time of the Restoration, for the Emperor to escape to the Sanindo District. Therefore, it was the plan to occupy Kameoka Castle, establish a temporary Imperial Headquarters there, and have the Emperor go further westward to meet the Satsuma and Choshu forces and finally engage the Shogunate forces.

"The Imperial Court believed that the Shogunate forces would certainly attack Kyoto in great force; therefore, Prince NINNAJI was dispatched as the Commander of the forces to Toji Temple to oppose this great force that would attack from the south, that is, from Osaka. This was when the Battle of Toba-Fushimi occurred.

"Just then; it was January 3; I was summoned by Prince IWAKURA and received my orders. I proceeded first to Kameoka as the Commander of the Sanindo District and as the head of the punitive expedition against the insurgent forces. At that time, the Imperial Court was in confusion and everything was quite unsteady with various problems, but he (IWAKURA) told me that I should proceed to make preparations

RESTRICTED

for the arrival of the Emperor. He also told me not to be concerned because he (Prince IWAKURA) would manage things alone and that he would meet the situation properly. Therefore, I was ordered to proceed toward Kameoka.

"I left on the following day or the day after that and proceeded to Kameoka at the head of my forces. The Lord of the castle, MATSUDAIRA, was in Yedo (Tokyo) at that time and was absent. At any rate, there was a retainer from the Satsuma forces who had dragged out a gun-barrel from somewhere, mounted it on an ox-cart and was preparing to fire this cannon at Kameoka Castle. I made my billet at the home of an influential man of that district, who was the grandfather of the present NAKAGAWA Kojuro. The cannon was aimed and preparations were made. The person left in charge of the castle became alarmed and immediately surrendered and presented a box of sweets. The Castle of Kameoka was immediately put into our hands and preparations for the temporary Imperial Headquarters were made.

"Thinking matters over, Prince SANJO had escaped to Chosu and had returned to Kyoto. However, it seemed as if Prince IWAKURA had not spoken to him of affairs of state. I had heard all of the plan from Prince IWAKURA, but I think that this was the plan of OKUBO Toshimich of Satsuma.

"At that time, the Satsuma forces advanced with great English type drums. The Choshu forces slandered the Shogunate forces, but they advanced with the bugles and small drums of the French type, similar to those of the Shogunate forces. The sight of the military forces of the time of the Restoration,

RESTRICTED

was a mixture of the English and French types, and was indeed an amusing one. However, thinking this matter over today, the attacks on the Satsuma by the English and the naval attacks on the Choshu by the French made the nation sober up and was the impetus behind the Restoration.

"According to the tales of the Satsuma people, there was a great warrior by the name of KAIEDA long ago. When the English battleships had fired their guns, the younger men had shrunk back. In order to give them strength, this KAIEDA had advanced to the front and waving a large lance around, he went directly in front of the fortress and was dancing around very vigorously in the protection of a godown. Fire from small arms would be ineffective, but to have a large cannon send shells over; well, that would be a different matter and the people who were watching this dance of KAIEDA laughed. Thinking this matter over, it seemed as if it belonged to another age, because the situation was, that it was thought that a shell from a cannon would not penetrate if one was dancing in the protection of a godown. It was really a very amusing incident."

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 312
(25 January 1939)

Navy's Views on Axis Alliance

Translated by T/Sgt Takashi Matsuda

At noon of the 18th, Minister TANI (Shanghai Legation) who returned from Shanghai, Captain TAKAGI of the Navy, MATSUDAIRA and I had dinner together. Many questions concerning the position of the Navy with respect to the problems on China affairs and the Anti-Comintern Pact were asked.

I. The reasons for the Navy's agreement with the Army are:

A The main purpose of strengthening the Anti-Comintern Pact is to stabilize the international position of the Empire (Japanese) and lead the disposition of the present Incident to an advantageous position. On the other hand, in view of the outbreak of the war in Europe, it is better to avoid becoming involved in the war; and if possible, to avoid war with Russia or take measures to postpone it. However, if it results in the strengthening of the coalition of Japan and Germany against Russia only, the eastward expansion program of Germany and our Army's belief in immediate warfare against Russia will harmonize easily. Therefore, there is a great danger of taking hostile measures before the situation is ripe.

B Regardless of the fact that the coalition of Germany and Japan tempts the Army into an early war against Russia, if it provokes England and France into war against us, we will not be sufficiently prepared. If it further arrays the United States against us,

RESTRICTED

then there is fear of our Empire being placed in a critical position as far as our diplomacy is concerned.

C Coalition of a defensive (negative) nature becomes more effective with the increase of participating nations; however, in one of an aggressive (positive) nature, it is only natural that harmony becomes more difficult and phlegmatic. Consequently, it is recognized that it is most appropriate to direct matters to a defensive plan in the event of concluding a military alliance to augment the Anti-Comintern Pact.

II. If this new treaty is limited to Russia under the assumption that she is the enemy, the Navy's pretext of completing naval armament will be contradictory.

A From the standpoint of increasing defensive strength, which is the basic principle of the Japan-Germany-Italy Treaty, the result will be the same whether this is done by a direct increase in armament or the obtaining of aid from the participant nations through diplomatic means. Just the method differs. The completion of naval armament is based upon the assumption of the hostileness of the United States and England, and we have already demanded naval parity on that assumption. When we have demanded a budget of several billions under the present conditions of the ineffectiveness of treaties, this sole concentration on an anti-Soviet policy by strengthening the Japan-Germany-Italy Pact in disregard of the foregoing, will not only expose the contradictory nature of the Navy's policy, but it will also cause the Army to misunderstand the true intentions of the Navy. Although the United States and England are used as excuses in

RESTRICTED

order to obtain the appropriation, it is not the intention of the Navy to consider the United States and England as hostile. There is the fear that this misunderstanding might lead the Army to come to the erroneous conclusion that the Navy is abetting the plan of the Army for an immediate war with Russia.

III. We are through with the policy of appeasing Great Britain and France.

The foreign policy heretofore, was one in which we were accepting the authority of Great Britain and the United States. However, with the development of our national strength, they began to keep a jealous eye on us. Ever since the Russo-Japanese War, the condition has been that if we concede one step, they would demand two; in recent disarmament conferences and in our nation's compromise plan with China, we were continually oppressed. When we consider where Japan, which acted as a watch-dog for England during World War I, will be lead, it is clear that we cannot afford to have a repetition of the same.

The reason for their (the United States, England and France) coming only as far as diplomatic protests and the addition of economic pressure, is not because of the results of our diplomatic policy of appeasing the other powers, but rather the effectiveness of the Anti-Comintern Pact by Japan, Germany and Italy and our military strength. Whether the coalition of Japan, Germany and Italy may be for the purpose of promoting an Anti-Comintern program, a military alliance, or whether it be directed only against Russia or any other nation, the United States, England and France

will, if the appropriate time and measures are found, plan to eliminate Japan, Germany and Italy individually or simultaneously. This fact is as clear as day.

Instead of leading ourselves into isolation and being overwhelmed individually, it is wiser to solidify the coalition and plan to make a reasonable approach to the United States, England and France.

IV Omitted hereon.

TANI spoke about the situation in Shanghai and said: "If we solve the problem concretely and quickly for the United States and England, there will be comparatively little friction. If Japan will grant them as many favors as possible, there will be more advantages for Japan. Germany must be very careful by all means." He (TANI) remained until evening and returned home.

From the afternoon of the 19th, I went to Oiso for recuperation and returned to Tokyo because a general meeting of the Koseikai was to be held on the 20th at 10:00 a.m. At noon on the 20th, I met the Foreign Minister at his official residence. He said: "To tell you the truth, the problem of Five Ministers' Conference was completely settled last night; that is, the problem of the alliance among Japan, Italy and Germany brought up by Germany and Italy. I negotiated with the young Army groups and after due consideration, I cannot concede anything more. First of all, it is said that although the Army's original plan is based on the assumption that the Soviet is hostile, it does not discriminate from assuming England and France as hostile. Therefore, it is natural that military support be given when the Soviet is considered hostile. In the case of England and France, the

question of support or to what extent it will be given, will depend upon the situation. The time for conclusion (of the alliance) must be as early as possible, and it would be well to expedite the public disclosure of it. The term of validity is ten years. To the other powers, the explanation will be to the effect of 'anti-Comintern measures'; and clearly indicated that the United States is not the objective."

The above is the original draft, but the Foreign Minister revised it to mean that it was only natural that the objective was of an anti-Comintern nature, and that it could be construed to be against other nations as well, depending on the situation. As far as military aid is concerned, it is natural to give support when the Soviet is the objective; in the case of another power, the support and its extent will depend upon the situation. The conclusion (of alliance) must be as early as possible and the appropriate time for disclosure to the public will be selected upon discussion. The term of validity is five years. The explanation to the other powers is that the objective is Russia. This revised version finally became the agreement of January 19th.

Of course, the Army and the Navy have no intention of giving military aid against any other nation (than Russia). Since the relations with England and the United States are particularly bad at the present, the Central and South China problems and particularly the problem of navigation rights on the Yangtze River, should be solved with England, the United States and other nations before public disclosure of the Japan-Germany-Italy Alliance. This was the opinion of the Foreign Minister and it was

decided that public disclosure would be made on an appropriate date to be decided upon at a conference.

Because we are in the midst of negotiations with Russia on the fishing problem it is the Foreign Minister's belief that immediate disclosure of the matter will not be advantageous. The term of validity was halved to five years and it was also decided that there was no necessity to add further explanation that the objective was not the United States but that it was Russia.

In order to carry this out, those overseas must be convinced of the fact. Therefore, Foreign Minister decided that one general from the War Ministry and one admiral from the Navy Ministry be dispatched to Berlin. At the same time, Minister ITO Nobumi will be sent from the Foreign Ministry concerning this problem. The administration and both the Army and Navy were completely agreed on this draft proposal of the Foreign Ministry, but if the conditions abroad are not stable, it would be distressing; therefore, the three were to be sent to Berlin by plane.

The Foreign Minister stated: "From the sense of my responsibilities, I cannot possibly go beyond this. I shall report to His Majesty with due respect, but to tell you the truth, I am just now thinking how I should report it." I (HARADA) said: "Previously, the Emperor was keenly concerned over this problem and it has been brought up to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal many times; therefore, you might first speak to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Then perhaps, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal will explain the main points of concern of the Emperor. At any rate, after consultation,

you should explain to His Majesty so as to ease his mind. I believe that it would be well for you to consult the Lord Privy Seal before reporting to His Majesty." The Foreign Minister also agreed, and it seems that he proceeded to the Imperial Palace that evening, reported the foreign policy speech delivered at the Diet. At the same time, he met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and conversed on various topics.

On the 21st, I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He said: "The conduct of the Army is absurd. Men of the colonel ranks make their own decisions at will and strengthen the anti-Comintern program of Japan, Germany and Italy. Moreover, they threaten the Cabinet members and force this program upon the Emperor. It is beyond reason and I think the present action is absurd. Nevertheless, even if I become enraged and say this and that, I am afraid it will annoy the Emperor. It is really distressing. The Emperor said the other day: 'I am perplexed with the present Army. They will never understand unless Japan is forced by other nations to return Korea and Manchukuo to their original status.' The Emperor was very pessimistic. Foreign Minister ARITA did everything in his power in the strengthening of the Anti-Comintern Pact, that is, concerning the problem of the alliance among Japan, Germany and Italy. We owe him our gratitude."

From 7:00 p.m., I proceeded to the residence of Prince CHICHIBU as I had promised and spoke to him for about two hours and returned home. His Highness was saying that he made efforts to explain to the young officers at the General Staff Headquarters, that the

United States and England cannot be se ated, but they could not understand this. His Highness also spoke about the political parties. I was glad to see that the Prince's understanding of matters progressed every time that I am granted an audience with him.

On the 22nd, I left for Okitsu and in the morning of the 23rd, I met Prince SAIONJI and reported the general developments. Similar to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, he said of ARITA: "It was a job well done by ARITA." He (SAIONJI) was saying that the future is very difficult. I mentioned the matter of whether KONOYE should attend the Diet as minister without portfolio. The Prince said: "There isn't anyone that understands the constitution." He laughed as he said this.

RESTRICTED

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 313
(7 February 1939)

Arita Reports to Throne

Translated by T/Sgt Takashi Matsuda

When I returned from Okitsu on the 24th, SAWADA came and reported the essentials of the report Foreign Minister ARITA made to the Emperor.

22 January 1939

The essentials of Foreign Minister ARITA's report to the Emperor concerning the strengthening of the Anti-Comintern Pact by Japan, Germany and Italy.

In the issue of the strengthening of the Anti-Comintern Pact by Japan, Germany and Italy, Soviet Russia was assumed as the main objective at the Five Ministers' Conference held last year. England and France will be assumed hostile provided they ally themselves with the Soviet. England and France, by themselves, will not be assumed hostile. The above report was made to the Throne by Foreign Minister UGAKI. However, as a result of inadequate thoroughness in the essentials of the decisions made at the Five Ministers' Conference to those abroad, a series of conferences were held among the various Ministers concerned when the formal proposal on a Tripartite Alliance was made (the text of the proposal will be reported to the Throne) by Germany and Italy this time. Finally, the plan of the government was drawn as it appears on the separate sheet on the 19th. First of all, in the present Japanese draft, there are changes made to the proposals decided upon at the previous Five Ministers' Conference; that is,

RESTRICTED

even when there is no relation wit' he policy of destroying the Comintern, powers other than the Soviet may be assume! antagonistic in case there is a necessity of protecting mutual interests. Howe'er, if we adhere to the principles decided upon at the previous Five Ministers' Conference in view of past events, this may be taken as an unfaithful attitude towards Germany and Italy. This result will have a bad effect on the friendly relations which were established with both nations. In view of this, the reason for accepting the proposal by Germany and Italy lies in the fact that we endeavored to minimize the disadvantages on our part, as much as practically possible. At the same time, the explanation to other nations will be that this is none other than an effort to strengthen the Anti-Comintern Pact, thereby lessening the bad effect on the part of the other nations. Should Germany and Italy declare a war with nations other than the Soviet, for reasons other than to eliminate the Comintern, we do not intend to give any military aid at present or in the future.

At that time, there seemed to be confusion as to who should go to Berlin among the army and navy personnel, and it was not yet decided on the 25th. The Premier and ARITA were perplexed because the intentions of the War Minister changed now and then. At any rate it is certain that the men to be dispatched to Berlin will be decided upon in a few days.

Just when I returned, I accidentally met KONOYE. He said: "The Diet is irksome and the ma ers are all completed; therefore, I would like to resign." I said to

KONOYE. "You will fail if you are careless in your movements. Be very thorough and careful."

ANDO Masazumi, of the House of Representatives, expressed his desire to know why the minister without portfolio was not present at the Diet session and what was KONOYE's state of mind when he resigned. This ANDO Masazumi is the follower of HATOYAMA Ichiro. When the present HIRANUMA Cabinet was formed, it was assumed that MATSUNO would represent the Seiyukai. Rather than to say MATSUNO is close to HATOYAMA, he is against MAEDA. In brief, KONOYE was sacrificed because of the struggle between the MAEDA and HATOYAMA factions.

For that reason, I met the Premier on the 26th and he said: "There are people who go to Prince KONOYE and say he should or should not appear in the Diet. Different people come from different circles and say that such and such is the true intention of KONOYE to us. At any rate, there are too many of them. Therefore, I just want the Chief Cabinet Secretary to speak to me. After speaking to the secretaries-general of both Parties, we will have Prince KONOYE appear in the Diet and elucidate on his points. Through the instrumentality of the Chief Cabinet Secretary, we will convey that he does not have to appear again; also if he (KONOYE) has anything to say, I want him to convey it through the Chief Cabinet Secretary. I want you to say this to him." Therefore, I related it to KONOYE.

Since I was expected to leave for Osaka on the 27th, in the morning before my departure, I phoned KONOYE. I said: "I hate to repeat this so often, but be very prudent with the accepting of the office. I am, of course,

in favor of your resignation as minister without portfolio, but you must be careful as to how and when you resign and you must not do it in an irresponsible manner." KONOYE said: "Probably, the only person who would oppose me is KAGESA. The others will probably not carry much weight." KONOYE mentioned such things of the Army, so I said: "The Premier is also saying that it would be troublesome if you quit the post. The Premier also considers KONOYE essential in the Cabinet Council for matters related to the disposition of the China Incident. Since this is the condition, you need not go out for another post. At any rate, it is said that you are wanted at your post until the closing of the Diet session." Although I said this, KONOYE seemed to desire resignation.

I (HARADA) was in Osaka from the 27th to the 30th and finished my business at Sumitomo (Bank) and returned on the 30th. I met KONOYE in the evening and he said: "As you had said, I cannot resign so easily. I will wait and see because everything is so complicated."

Although there was some criticism against the administration saying that the government is not busy and that the Diet session does not amount to anything. Generally speaking, they do not amount to anything right now. On the other hand, a group of rightists and members of the Kokuhonsha (radical elements) originally formed by HIRANUMA are attacking the incompleteness of the HIRANUMA administration. However, Premier HIRANUMA, himself, is observing the situation quietly.

On February 1st, I conferred with the Vice-Minister of the Navy all morning, but there was nothing significant. The Vice-Minister of the Navy was very enraged at ARITA.

He practically said that the text of the report made to the Throne is too irresponsible for a person like the Minister. However, there was no change and I merely said: "Won't we be repeating the same failure if the decisions made at the Five Ministers' Conference, the five Ministers who attended the Conference and the Vice-Ministers are not coordinated well?" Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO also said: "We will be careful and seek coordination."

On the 4, I met KIDO for a while and asked generally about the peace and order problem. KIDO grimly said: "I am determined to take action against those who do not abide with the law whether they be of the right or the left." I said: "That is very fine."

Then, I went to the Diet session and at noon I met the Premier. I asked him: "I am leaving for Okitsu this afternoon. Is there anything you would like for me to ask?" The Premier said: "Please give my regards to him (Prince SAIONJI). At the same time please convey the following three things. First, the planning of national defense must be made; otherwise, the administration at home and abroad is impossible. Such a quarrel between the Army and Navy for obtaining appropriations is distressing. Secondly, the proposal to the Army is to be done through the Minister (of War). Everything is being done in such a way that the War Minister is held responsible himself. Lastly, in order to expand production, more rigid controls will be instituted. Perhaps there may be some discontented elements, but this cannot be helped."

Previously, I had wanted to speak to the Premier but

I had no occasion. Therefore, I said to the Premier: "It has been some time since I became attached to the Prince and during that time, I realized some regrettable matters. This is, the world situation is very odd and it is regrettable to know that His Majesty's virtues and intelligence are not appreciated by the subjects. His Majesty's high moral standard and intelligence appear in his doings; yet, there is no way of conveying this fact to the subjects. For instance, in politics, it is the wish of the Emperor to adhere to the constitution, but this is not known by the people. Because there are many weak points in society, there are no instances in politics and diplomacy where the Emperor's ideas are enforced. This is the main trouble for those who are his immediate officials. When an explanation is made in terms of the Emperor's desire to conduct a constitutional government, it is said that SAIONJI, MAKINO, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal or other immediate officials, who do what they please by using the name of the Emperor, are behind it. As a result, the spirit of the constitution is ignored and matters are conducted in such a way that the Emperor's wish cannot be conveyed to the people. Considering your past record and social position, I feel you are best fitted as the Premier to convey his ideas as well as his high virtues directly to the people. I thought I would say this to you after we became better acquainted, but I felt there is no sense of not coming to the point; therefore, I express my feelings and desires openly." The Premier nodded and said: "I understand. I shall do my best. I will do something about it."

I thought of meeting the Foreign Minister and the

Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and then leave, but due to inconveniences, I asked about the situation by phone. They said they had nothing special to report at this time. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said that the Deputy Chief of Army General Staff came to him a few days ago and said: "I told Ambassador OSHIMA (Germany) that the supreme authority of diplomacy is vested in the Emperor. I also cautioned him that it is not desirable to forget one's position and do as Germany says by agreeing with her. Japan has the deciding authority. The Army has no intention of infringing upon the diplomatic prerogative of the Emperor. Also, the Army does not pay any attention to the rightists because they are a hazard. The civil police and Kempei have been instructed to take action without hesitation."

The reason behind the visit of the Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was that the General Staff Headquarters and the Army discouraged Premier KONOYE when he expressed his desire for resignation. At that time, NAKASHIMA, the present Deputy Chief of the General Staff, was newly appointed and came to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and said: "It would be distressing if KONOYE resigns." The Army's desire reached the Emperor's ears. Before the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal or anyone else knew, the Emperor personally decided to call the Chief Aide-de Camp and said: "Go to the General Staff Headquarters and say that if it is so troublesome if KONOYE resigns, instead of keeping KONOYE in office, decide that question of strengthening the Anti-Comintern program as decided at the first Five Ministers' Conference. Moreover, how

RESTRICTED

about eliminating those points advocated by the Army; that is those points which are in discord with the general decisions made at the Five Ministers' Conference? Also, how about deciding to have this anti-Comintern program directed strictly against the Soviet as it had been decided at the Five Ministers' Conference?" The Emperor himself made the above statement to the Army, but the Army did not seem to agree, and said: "We are not in favor of that."

Since everything became so complex, the Deputy Chief of the General Staff came to make explanations to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "The Army is absurd! Also, the actions taken by OSHIMA are beyond reason. It can be said that he ignored the Emperor's diplomacy prerogative. In the central circles, the colonels and lieutenant colonels make their own decisions and force them on the Minister and the Chief of the General Staff Headquarters. Furthermore, they even force them on the Emperor! What kind of attitude is this? It is an insincere action and lacking in loyalty. How about thinking more carefully?" He said it in such a blunt manner that Deputy Chief of the General Staff came to apologize the other day and said: "OSHIMA has no such ideas. I have spoken to him before."

Incidentally, Lt. Gen. TATEKAWA came to the General Staff Headquarters and said: "During the absence of HASHIMOTO Kingoro, I took over the organization as the Nippon Kakushinto (Japan Reform Party), and I have never seen any organizations such as this rightist one which is so cheap and able to manipulate with money. I found out for the first time; it is beyond reason!" He was enraged

and continued: "I want to call back HASHIMOTO and I would like to relinquish the position." It is said that the above statements were related by the Deputy Chief of the General Staff to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

I left for Okitsu on the 3rd, met the Prince on the 4th and reported the recent developments in detail. In his long conversation he said: "We imitated the system of having a minister without portfolio from the British. In England, the members of the House of Lords and the Cabinet members cannot go to the House of Commons to explain anything. A minister without portfolio was installed (in England) so that it would be possible for him to go to the lower house to explain matters. This is very different from the situation in Japan where a state minister can go directly to the lower house for any necessary explanation; therefore, there is no necessity for a minister without portfolio in Japan."

The Prince continued: "In the case of KONOYE it is exactly the opposite. In England, a minister without portfolio is appointed to go to the lower house and explain matters as a state minister, but as I observe this time, KONOYE is there to avoid the session. It is ridiculous. The present newspapers are meaningless. It seems as if they have ignored international courtesy and morality and their articles are similar to a drunkard's ranting. It is a disgrace to our country. Can something be done about it? How about KONOYE's trip abroad? If he will go at all, he must associate with the higher circles and if that cannot be done, his trip is meaningless. It is different when an ordinary person goes, but in the case of KONOYE, he must associate with such people or it would not be

worthwhile, either to KONOYE or to our country." I went to a hotel from the Prince's place and on that afternoon, in compliance with his orders, I brought a present to His Imperial Highness, Prince MASAHITO, who is at Prince ITO's residence.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 314
(13 February 1939)

Political Wrangles in China

Translated by T/Sgt Takeshi Matsuda

I (HARADA) left at noon of the 5th, had lunch with YUKI at Atami and returned to Oiso. After dinner, I called on former Finance Minister IKEDA at his villa and had a long conversation. He said: "The other day, I met the Premier. The Premier said that the opinions of the War Minister clashed often at the Five Ministers' Conference and he said he would go back to the War Ministry for consultation. Therefore, he was told that it is not proper to do that. If necessary, he should call his subordinates here and discuss matters. The Minister does not have to return for that purpose. For that reason, ITAGAKI could not help but call his subordinates to the Premier's official residence and settle the issue.

IKEDA was worried over the relations with England and the United States and continued: "Instead of worrying about what should be done in case of economic blockade or pressure by England and the United States from now, there are many other measures possible by diplomacy, as a nation, as a people, or as a government, before it develops to that point. It is useless and undesirable to study what should be done when the time comes, without taking such appropriate measures beforehand. I will meet HIRANUMA and correct his views by advising him to view the international situation more correctly. Perhaps I shall ask him to reconsider, I think he will understand if I speak to him." He (IKEDA) was worried over domestic affairs. I spoke to him until about 10:00 pm and returned to my villa.

After returning to Tokyo on the following morning, I (HARADA) proceeded to the Diet session immediately, met

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the Premier at noon and reported the statement I made to the Prince. At noon, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and I called the Foreign Minister and had a long conversation at the Tokyo Club. The Foreign Minister said: "In order to bring the United States and England to the Japanese side, we must show, as early as possible, that Japan will not banish other nations from China or forbid the entrance of foreign powers by closing the 'open-door'. This is in relation to the matters involving United States, British and French interests in Central and South China and free navigation on the Yangtze. We must also show that we will respect their present interests and permit free navigation on the Yangtze River. In order to execute this plane, we must show force though it is contrary to our desires and organize the home front; otherwise, they (the Japanese people) will not comply. In the final analysis, the most important matter now is domestic administrations, not diplomacy. Although it is a troublesome situation, I must give the impression that ARITA is taking forceful action in order to lead the others as a group. I shall pay due respect to the rights of England and the United States and the other powers in China, as well as the navigation rights on the Yangtze River. There is no alternative but to conduct matters in this way. As the Foreign Minister, it is really disappointing to imitate forcefulness, when in reality, I have no intention of it at all. However, this must be done in order to see the situation through. If we fail in this, our foreign policy will be a total failure. The other day, I said to an Army group: 'The Foreign Minister does not know anything about the telegram between Ambassador OSHIMA and the General Staff Headquarters which concerns the strengthening of the anti-

Comintern program. No matter how much, and how many years the army has studied diplomacy, what right do they have to act without the consent of the Foreign Ministry?' I asked for their reconsideration and the Army said they were very sorry. At any rate, such a situation is distressing but a little more patience is necessary."

Then at 3:00 pm, I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at his official residence. He said that former Foreign Minister UGAKI has the greatest responsibility for the strengthening of the anti-Comintern program. At the same time, the appointment of Military Attache OSHIMA as Ambassador, was a complete failure. The Foreign Minister was also saying similar things. In times like these, the Army is simple-minded; therefore, if Germany looks promising, they act as if they want to say that Germany is the only reliable nation. The Foreign Minister was very cautious about problems concerning Germany, regardless of their importance because of the above fact. For example, in the recent meeting of the Japan-Germany Cultural Association attended by Marquis INOUYE, the leader of the German group was to be GOERING. Therefore, Germany asked Japan to appoint the Premier or a prince not belonging to the Imperial Family. The Foreign Minister said that it cannot be done, for if HITLER is the dictator and the Premier, perhaps HIRANUMA can be appointed. However, if it is GOERING, Education Minister ARAKI could be the leader of the Japanese group. Germany didn't agree. How about considering the relation between HITLER and MUSSOLINI? In Italy there is a King above MUSSOLINI. What would Italy think if MUSSOLINI were put on the same rank as GOERING? Considering this matter from various angles, it is not a desirable thing. Therefore, I am thinking of settling the issue with a person

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like the Education Minister. Germany tries to take the upper hand in everything and unless we are very cautious, she will try to take advantage of us. ARITA was continually saying this and it was also said that this had been told to the Army. This issue was brought up by the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He was worried over the fact that Ambassador OSHIMA is being used by RIBBENTROP as if he were a messenger. At 5:00 pm, I returned home.

At noon of the FEB 7th, I listened to what the Foreign Minister had to say while having a dinner with MATSUDAIRA and the Foreign Minister. The Foreign Minister said that the reason for making forceful statements now, concerning the Yangtze and Central China problems, lies in the fact that unless we take forceful action, the people cannot be drawn to our side. In the final analysis, foreign policy must be originated from the home front. It is really difficult.

Concerning WANG Ching-wei, he (Foreign Minister) said: "I can't believe that WANG Ching-wei is going to England; that is, it is true that England desires that and plans to do that, but I don't think WANG Ching-wei will move."

In the telegram received by the Navy, which was sent from an American Embassy Councillor at Chungking to the U.S. Secretary of State on January 30th, the following was stated:

> In connection with WANG Ching-wei's trip to England, an unofficially issued passport was visaed. Before granting the visa, the British Embassy unofficially inquired whether this met with the approval of CHIANG Kai Shek. From this inquiry, it was learned that CHIANG had a special understanding of this in order to make WANG's trip abroad possible.

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Furthermore, within the telegram sent by the American Embassy Counsellor in Chungking to the Secretary of State on February 2nd, the following was contained:

According to the assertion of an official of the Chinese Foreign Office to an official of the same Embassy on a certain day in January, WANG's passport was issued pursuant to special instructions by CHIANG. It can be interpreted to mean that he (WANG) endeavors to keep the friendship with CHIANG which has been maintained in response to CHIANG's kindness. At the same time, CHIANG will facilitate WANG's trip to Europe, thereby lessening the opportunity for WANG's cooperation with the political authority established by Japan in China. The same official clearly explained that WANG will not participate in the activities of Japan connected with the new government in the Japanese occupied areas.

According to a telegram dispatched from a United States Councill[illegible] to the Secretary of State originating in Peiping, the following was contained:

A Chinese Government official, of the faction lead by WU Pei-fu, who has retired from government service, met with an official of this Embassy, who is WU's personal friend, this morning. He said that he came to convey the true facts of the announcements to a group of newspaper reporters yesterday by WU Pei-fu. He said that the contents of the

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newspaper not only perverted WANG's purpose, but also distorted his viewpoint. Although WU did not approve nor draw up the announcement, the papers stated that WU was responsible.

H[illegible] (Chinese official) words were consistent with the contents of the wire sent by this Embassy previously, and he denied the following news reports:

1. Determination for (WU's) participation in politics.
2. Overthrow of the CHIANG Regime.
3. Annihilation of Nationalist Communist Forces.
4. Annihilation of the Chinese Communist Forces.

According to him (WU's messenger), the Marshal (WU) does not expect to take a responsible position in military and political affairs. Unless Japan understands his position, and especially if Japan does not recognize his opinions or until Japan does, concerning the withdrawal of Japanese troops, he has no intention of taking any responsible position. WU's position relative to this is that the 'Visitor' (Japan) will not be able to usurp the 'master's' (China) position. He (WU) is determined to avoid close relations with the Chinese Government however powerful its political influence may be. He shall seek the restoration of peace by employing his own armed forces in the Hupei and Honan

areas if his position as the leader of the Sinyuan area is recognized. This action is intended for the annihilation of bandits and it is not an hostile action against the Chinese forces. Finally, he (WU's messenger) conveyed WU's gratitude for the continued friendly relations on the part of England and the United States toward China. He indicated his appreciation for their (the United States and England) indication of amity in 'credit' form.

From 3:00 pm, MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and I, met at the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal's residence. We had a long talk and I returned home after 5:00 pm.

On the morning of the 8th, I met KIDO. He said: "The scheduled meeting between the Premier and KONOYE which appeared on this morning's paper was cancelled because the purpose of their meeting was a request for KONOYE's trip to Manchukuo. However, KONOYE wanted to refuse his request and therefore, I (KIDO) stepped in and advised the Premier to cancel it. As a result, it became unnecessary to hold a meeting. There is nothing new, but anyway, I will manage to carry on."

Then, I went to the Peers' Club. KONOYE was there and said: "Yesterday, KAMEI, ASOU and AKIYAMA Teisuke of the Shakai Taishuto (Social Democratic Party) came and I was cornered by them. They talked about the new parties but I did not pay any attention." Therefore, I (HARADA) said: "I have something to say. There is talk among those close to you that there will be a resignation of the

cabinet this April. It is also mentioned that it will be another KONOYE Cabinet. Since you keenly feel the necessity of the establishment of a new (political party), efforts are being made along that line. With such rumors, an attempt is being made to gather the people together with you (KONOYE) as the central figure; if you do not accept, AKIYAMA will be made the party head. This means that AKKYAMA and his colleagues are engaged in such activities also."

Then, I attended the farewell banquet for the Belgian Ambassador sponsored by Prince CHICHIBU. Prince CHICHIBU had not seen KONOYE for some time so he said: "I would like to have a leisurely dinner with KONOYE and the others soon. Why didn't KONOYE go to Manchukuo?"

When I met KONOYE on the 9th, he said: "After all, if I go to Manchukuo now, numerous requests will be made and I will also be expected to do something, being in the position that I am. Therefore, it will be troublesome for the government, and I thought it will be better if I did not and cancelled it.

At the Diet session on the 10th, I said to the Premier through the Cabinet Secretary: "If you have anything to take up at this time, I shall see you." He answered: "I want to see you a moment." Then, I talked for about thirty or forty minutes in his office. He wanted me to convey his regards to the Prince when I go to meet him. Also, he said that he intends to strengthen the national mobilization program by unifying the political parties and other powerful organizations. I (HARADA) did not hear this directly from the Premier, but at the meeting of the Koain (Cabinet's Asia Board), it was decided that navigation on the Yangtze River will be permitted during the high-water period.

The Premier continued: "Many people come to Prince KONOYE's place and voiced things that he (KONOYE) never said. For instance, they said: 'This Cabinet will last only three months. KONOYE will succeed. Because of past events, KONOYE must form a new political party. He is now planning a new political party with his immediate advisers.' KONOYE meets KA[illegible], AKIYAMA, or their like and he will not say anything personally. That is perhaps the reason why they say such things." When I heard this from the Premier, it seemed rather ridiculous because he himself was doing the same thing and had disturbed everyone as the President of the Privy Council. At any rate, I left for home.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 315
(25 February 1939)

Imperial Apprehensions

Translated by T/Sgt Takeshi Matsuda

Foreign Minister ARITA decided he would not proceed to the Palace on the 11th because he had a cold and he asked me to come to his home about 10:00 am. When I went to his private home in Mejiro, the Minister said that a vaccination had taken and he did not have a cold. We conversed for about two hours. ARITA said: "That problem of navigation on the Yangtze River was finally solved at the meeting of the Koain (Cabinet's Asia Board) by permitting navigation when the water is high. Furthermore, it is known that it is good for Japan, theoretically and practically, to continue diplomatic relations with the United States and England; however, in a situation like this, nothing can be accomplished if we speak up about this first. To a certain degree, we must say things so as to fit the present situation and go as far as we can in that manner. We have no other alternatives and it is really disappointing." The Foreign Minister was very worried. He continued: "I believe that the fact that OSHIMA visited SHIGEMITSU in London is somewhat better than if he had not visited him at all. Also, I am disappointed over the fact that people like OTANI Kozui come to the Premier and say this and that. They say very irresponsible things. It is better not to listen to them."

Men among the Councillors, such as GO, IKEDA or MACHIDA, were very worried and came to the Foreign Minister and contended that the approach and feelings toward the United States and England must be improved indirectly. They also said this to the Premier and the Foreign Minister and talked about the fact that the financial circles view this matter more seriously and endeavor to find a solution

in the future.

I (HARADA) left Tokyo Station on the 3 o'clock train, and on my way to Shizuoka, I met OUCHI, the President of the Toa Dobunchoin (a Japanese-operated school in Shanghai, founded by Prince KONOYE's father). He was worried over Prince SAIONJI's health. He said: "The present lieutenants and captains (army officers) in China act audaciously toward the so-called elder statesmen or the high government officials - It is certainly undesirable to treat them thoughtlessly like that. A good-will policy toward China can never be expected in that manner."

Then, I (HARADA) mentioned the following incident. Once, when the Prince was the Premier, he travelled through North China and Manchukuo after the Russo-Japanese War. At that time, the Prince was invited as a guest of honor to the home of TSAO Ju-lin. At the table, the Prince ordered a certain army general to leave the room because this general misbehaved. Then the Prince said, in great ire: "One who is impolite toward the guest, naturally embarrasses the host." Afterwards, when HARA Kei toured through China and met HSU Shu-chang, he asked him: "Is there anything you would like to say to Japan?" He (HSU) said: "I have nothing to say but give my regards to Prince SAIONJI. After that incident about the excusing of a certain lt. general from the room, the Japanese officers' attitude became calm toward China. I am very glad."

When I mentioned this to OUCHI, he said: "That is good news and I want to have an article like this known to the public. If such a thing can be done, it may serve as an incentive; therefore, I want it to be known to the general public." We parted at Shizuoka.

I went to see the Prince on the morning of the 13th

and reported the recent developments in detail. He said: "According to the write-ups in the papers, the headlines and everything else are ridiculous and they cannot be considered newspapers of a refined nation. From the standpoint of diploracy and international virtues, I wonder if they can be written in a more gentlemanly manner. Can the government give advice on those points?" Then, when I spoke about OUCHI of China, he (Prince) said: "No, it is not all military. In general, the attitude of the Japanese peop toward China is wrong and it is distressing."

On the afternoon of the 13th, I returned to Tokyo by train. On the 14th, I proceeded to the Diet and reported the visit to Saitsu to the Premier and also met KIDO and ARIMA. In the Asahi Shimbun, there was an article about the merger of ARIMA with the Shakai (Social Democrat Party) and Tobokai. When I asked about this, he said: "That is not so. Certainly some of us have that opinion, but it is too early, so we are merely watching the situation. That is why it is not so."

In the evening, I had a dinner with IKEDA, YUKI, ISHIWATA, KAYA and MURATA. After a lengthy conversation, we parted.

On the 15 I was invited to a dinner by ITO Bunkichi. Therefore, KIDO, KONOYE and I went, and conversed until 11:00 pm. It seemed as if KONOYE was being threatened on some points, and he said: "From now on, politics will be impossible unless we push along with absolutism. Perhaps something may come up in September."

Concerning this, KIDO did not make any forceful statements, but from our way of thinking, there are points of dissatisfaction. In conclusion, KONOYE said that the important problem now is the unification of the Army. Not

only are there factions in the Army, there are quarrels concerning their principles. In regards to the China incident, one party believes in the pursuance of a Holy War; the other believes that the war against China be stopped as quickly as possible, preparations for the war against the Soviet made and friendly relations with China maintained. While these two factions are struggling, there are many unnecessary departmental arguments concerning the personnel; for instance, it is said that the Army can be unified if HAYASHI and MAZAKI are united. A meeting was arranged but MAZAKI did not come. HAYASHI was enraged and things like this make the situation very disagreeable. There is no capable person in the Army, so instead of selecting some man to unify the Army, this should be done from the organizational standpoint. There is no other alternative. KONOYE seemed to be concerned over the activities of the rightists.

When we asked KIDO if there was any way to settle this problem, he said it was a very difficult matter. We conversed until 11:00 pm.

On the following day, I met ITO Bunkichi at the House of Peers and I expressed my gratitude. I noticed that he had the same opinion as I and he hoped that something could be done concerning KIDO and KONOYE.

At noon on the 16th, KONOYE, MATSUDAIRA and I were invited to a dinner by IWAKURA at the Chikuyo. Nothing important was brought up at that time.

On the 11th, I (HARADA) appeared at the Diet session, went to Oiso in the afternoon, conversed with IKEDA from 7:00 to 9:30 pm his villa concerning the relations with the United States and England and other recent problems, and returned home.

Imperial Apprehensions

On the afternoon of the 18th, Admiral NOMURA and Professor NISHIDA, together with Navy Captain TAKAGI and I, had dinner together. From about 3:00 pm, IKEDA Seihin came and conversed until 5:30 pm, when he left.

In the evening, there was a phone call from the Prince saying that he wanted me to come to Okitsu tomorrow; therefore, I took the early train on the morning of the 19th. After the urgent matters were disposed of, we talked about the unification of the present Army. He said: "It should be organizational and Premier HIRANUMA should let the War Minister assume the responsibility in managing the affairs within the Army. If we are to continue in this manner, there must be more reliable persons near the Emperor. Needless to say the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is a very fine person, but he seems to be narrow-minded. Can IKEDA Seihin get together with him for consultation? When the Emperor asserts his opinions as the Commander-in-Chief or as the Chief Administrator, there should be strong support near him. To have a close kin of the Emperor for that purpose is another idea but....Will you think it over?"

Then, I spoke about the recent developments and returned to Tokyo on the 19th on the noon train. Upon returning, I met MATSUDAIRA at the Kuwana and talked about the foregoing for reference's sake. He agreed in general, but he said that the form by which it will be executed is very difficult. He also said that he will think it over.

I stayed overnight in Tokyo and attended a meeting of a House of Peers Committee. I did not feel well so I went to Yugahara in the evening and returned to Tokyo on the evening of the 22nd. I had invited the Foreign Minister the Foreign Vice Minister, and several ex-ministers to dinner. We had dinner at the Kinraku and conversed until

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well past 11:00 pm.

On the 23rd, I attended a committee meeting at the House of Peers, met KIDO at noon, and spoke to him about what the Prince said about the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. KIDO said: "I think that it is not good to move him around now because this will have great effect (in political circles). In the final analysis, it is better to have [illegible] in that position so that he can meet with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and talk things over. It is rather undesirable to put Gen ABE in the office of Minister of the Imperial Household. Won't everything run smoother if the Minister of the Imperial Household is kept as the chief of General Affairs?" KIDO did not agree (to what SAIONJI said).

I met the Premier in the afternoon and he said: "I don't think KONOYE would express such opinions, but there are some groundless rumors about what KONOYE said and it is distressing. KONOYE seems to meet anyone regardless of rank. Can something be done about it?" The Premier seemed to be perplexed. Therefore, I said: "I shall advise KONOYE."

I was invited to a dinner at the Kawana by KITAZAWA. I met the Foreign Minister at his official residence at 4:00 pm. He said: "Four or five days ago, Japanese army planes dropped bombs on the British colony of Hongkong which killed an Indian policeman and several Chinese. I met the British Ambassador in order to express my apologies and he just returned home. It is really disturbing."

After dinner at my home in the evening, I went to MATSUDAIRA's place. He said: "I had something to say to you from some time ago. At the time when His Highness, the Chief of the Naval General Staff, was granted an audience by the Emperor, a member of the Naval General Staff, who had

returned from Manchukuo reported his alarm at the situation there to Chief of Naval General Staff. The Kwantung Army has distributed some 25 divisions along the Soviet-Manchukuo border and it appears as if they are taking a positively aggressive attitude. Since this was a dangerous situation, His Highness, the Chief of the Naval General Staff, reported it to the Emperor. The Emperor was very worried over this and immediately called the Chief Aide-de-Camp and said: 'I don't think it is actually so, but find out whether the Army is keeping calm or whether it is assembling the troops with that intention (of aggression).' Although the Emperor ordered the Chief Aide-de-Camp to do this, he does not comply with His Majesty's orders. Not only that, but he also tried to ignore it by giving the Emperor an immediate answer. Hearing this, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal became impatient. He and the Grand Chamberlain called the Chief Aide-de-Camp and severely reprimanded him on his attitude. However, the Chief Aide-de-Camp merely said: 'It is distressing to see a great gap between the wills of the Army and of the Emperor'. However, the Chief Aide-de-Camp came to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal yesterday and said: "I agree with what you said the other day, ~~but~~ there is no capable person within the Army. It is a regrettable situation and we cannot do as we wish. What the Emperor says does not go through. Thinking that His Majesty's virtues should not be injured, I did not comply with his orders. That I did not do as I was told is my fault, but it is really distressing." Although there were times when the Chief Aide-de-Camp did not take action in compliance with the Imperial Orders, he admitted this for the first time to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and was distressed over the situation within the Army. This is not known to anyone

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except the Emperor, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and His Highness, the Chief of the Naval General Staff. Of course, the Emperor never mentioned that he heard this from the Navy. His Majesty merely said: "It is such and such according to certain sources.' Therefore, the Army naturally does not know that it originated from the Navy." We talked on such topics for a long while after which I returned home.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 316
(2 March 1939)

Attack Russia?

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

I met with the Navy Minister and the Vice-Minister on the 24th from 9:00 o'clock, at the official residence of the former. We discussed the General Budget Meeting of the Diet as well as matters pertaining to the higher court officials close to the Emperor. The Navy Minister remarked: "When I saw Prince KONOYE not long ago, he told me: 'There are people who are saying something more serious than the Feb. 26th Incident will break out (in the near future). Have you heard anything to this effect?' I answered: 'I have not heard anything of that sort. I do not think such a thing will occur.'"

The Navy Vice-Minister stated: "The Navy has made preparations for a large contingent of Marines to land should something occur. This is the best course of the Navy."

As MATSUDAIRA had already conferred with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal as to what he wanted conveyed to me, I met with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at 10:00 o'clock and found out that his views were identical to those of KIDO.

I had lunch and conversed together with KONOYE at the Tokyo Club. During the course of the conversation, I mentioned the matter of replacing the higher court officials close to the Emperor with powerful, influential individuals. To this, KONOYE commented: "It would be wiser not to meddle with it now. To the younger military personnel, among whose group the situation is now centralized, it is vital that the finances of Japan be actually

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revealed in figures instead of idealogies and thoroughly explained to them by YUKI or IKEDA. By this, they will gradually come to understand (finances). There is no other way in which this situation could be handled."

When I (HARADA) met with the Premier day before yesterday, he said: "I am very much distressed as KONOYE is the source of various rumors that are going around. Please see to it that he does not meet with odd people and also prevent him from saying unscrupulous things." I (HARADA) mentioned the above to KONOYE and he retorted: "Well, they come and tell me all sorts of things. Therefore, I just listen to them. Much to my embarrassment, they aggravate the stories."

I (HARADA) had heard that KAMEI went over to Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO's place and remarked: "Every morning, for the past ten days, I have been going over to the Ogikubo residence of Prince KONOYE and have been sweeping out the vicinity of the front entrance. Daily, after the cleaning was completed, I leisurely conversed with the Prince." When I (HARADA) mentioned the above to KONOYE, he replied: "He (KAMEI) said that he wanted to come to clean (the place); therefore, I did not stop him. However, I never had the occasion of meeting him even once during the time he was coming over. It is very embarrassing for me to have him (KAMEI) say such a thing. KAMEI has intelligence and ability; therefore, if he uses it properly, it would be to his advantage...." I (HARADA) cautioned KONOYE saying: "You have obviously known for quite sometime, the personal characteristics of KAMEI; therefore, it will be a wise idea for you to quit seeing him." To this, KONOYE assented and continued: "If I

see the Premier personally, everything could be clarified, but it will be troublesome if I should see him at present. Will you please explain the situation to him?"

As a result, I went over to see the Premier on my way home. Due to the absence of the Premier, I talked with the Chief Secretary and conveyed (KONOYE's) message in detail. I (HARADA) said: "When KONOYE sees the Premier, I am sure he will mention the foregoing to him, but...." To which, the Chief Secretary replied: "I understand very well."

In the evening, I was invited to Mishima by the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and had dinner together and conversed with the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture and the Prefectural Bureau Chief.

As there was a meeting of the Juichinichi-kai (11th Day Society) at KIDO's residence, I went there and met everyone. After conversing on various topics, I returned home.

I (HAR) left for Okitsu on the evening of the 25th and called on the Prince on the morning of the 27th. When I reported the latest developments, the Prince said: "It seems to me that nowhere else in this world can you find politicians such as those you find in Japan who express falsehoods to their own countrymen. Don't you think it is ridiculous to try to expalin matters to the military personnel at this late date?"

On the way home on that same day, I stopped over at Oiso and called on IKEDA and discussed different matters. In the course of the conversation, IKEDA stated: "This is an absolute secret, but a few days ago, I had Chief of Staff NAKAJIMA (of Kwantung Army) come over and heard

what he had to say on varied matters. I learned that the Army has no intentions of waging war with Russia, and that in reality, Japan cannot start anything with the military preparations she has today. There is also some talk pertaining to the Kwantung Army in Manchukuo, but as long as TADA, the former Deputy Chief of Staff (Kwantung Army) remains in Manchukuo, the Kwantung Army is absolutely safe. In 1944, Russia will complete another railway from Russia to Siberia (Baikal Railway). If we are going to start operations against Russia, we would like to begin before that time. This is an absolute secret, but to be frank with you, the Deputy Chief of Staff has stated that the present Army has no intentions, whatsoever, of attacking Russia." After talking over many matters, I returned to Tokyo on the 28th and attended the Diet session.

That evening, I was invited to dinner at TANI's place. Count KURODA was also there and he said: "Tachang fort, near Shanghai, was built by Germany. It was claimed to be a stronghold, but soon after it fell, German Ambassador OTT went on an inspection trip to see the old battlefield. From all indications of the situation, the Japanese Army was so powerful that he (the German Ambassador) rushed back to Japan fearing that at this rate, Nanking also might fall (into the hands of the Japanese). Immediately upon his return, he (Ambassador OTT) went to the (Japanese) General Staff Headquarters and stated: 'Why don't you cancel the attack on Nanking?' With these words he attempted to prevent the Nanking attack. From outward appearances, it seemed like a friendly warning towards Japan, but in reality, the walls surrounding Nanking were built in the modern German method of wall structure and sold to the

Chinese Government at an exorbitant price. In spite of the fact that Germany had the confidence of China, it ended with the fall of Nachung fort. Therefore, if the walls of Nanking, to which the Chinese attached great confidence, were taken, Germany's reputation would be ruined. As a result, OTT attempted to prevent the Nanking attack in order to maintain China's trust in Germany." For the first time, I (HARADA) was made aware of the actual facts.

On the afternoon of the 1st, I saw KONOYE and discussed his coming trip to the United States, and also the opportune time for him to resign as Minister without portfolio.

After returning home in the evening, I had dinner at 11:00 o'clock together with the British Ambassador, Maj. G. PIGOTT and their wives. They left around 11:00 o'clock. The British Ambassador, to some extent, expressed his dissatisfaction over the fact that, in spite of repeated requests, the Premier would not see him. Therefore, I immediately called [illegible] on the phone the following morning and stated: "I intend to talk directly to the Foreign Minister later, but since England is a country with which we are mutually exchanging Their Majesties Ambassadors Plenipotentiary, it is only proper that the wish of the British Ambassador be granted when, as a matter of courtesy, he expresses his desire to meet with the Premier." To this, IKEDA naturally replied: "Of course, that is so. In any case, I shall also call the Premier's attention to this matter." I (HARADA) said: "I intend to see Foreign Minister ARITA on the afternoon of the 2nd and discuss the matter with him then." With this, I cut the telephone.